



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

# WHAT FRANCE DID FOR AMERICA

## MEMOIRS OF MARSHAL COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU

TRANSLATED BY M. W. E. WRIGHT

---

### III.

As soon as Congress received the news of the surrender of Cornwallis, it passed a resolution that a marble column should be erected at York, in Virginia, ornamented with emblems of the alliance between the United States and France, with a succinct narrative of the surrender of the army of Lord Cornwallis to Generals Washington, Rochambeau, and de Grasse. Congress also resolved to present a stand of colours to General Washington, and four pieces of cannon, taken from the English army, to the Counts de Rochambeau and de Grasse, bearing an inscription acknowledging the gratitude of the Congress of the United States for the glorious part they had taken in this brilliant expedition.

General Green obtained further success in the south; from the high mountains of La Santé, he passed through Vatteria and Congerea to Dorchester, and drove the enemy from their posts in the plains, and compelled them to retire within the lines of Charlestown. At the close of this campaign, of which the commencement had been so disastrous to the Americans, the English had possession only in North America of Charlestown, Savannah, in Georgia, and the New York islands. This continued success greatly contributed to disconcert the British ministers, as soon as the news of the surrender of Cornwallis had reached Europe, and to induce the Parliament of England to withhold any further hostile demonstrations against the continent of North America.

The French army had hardly returned to their quarters, after the taking of York and the late harassing campaign, than General Green sent to me to beg the most efficacious and expeditious assistance, on intelligence of the arrival at Charlestown of three English regiments sent from New York, and on the false report spread by the enemy of the arrival of a reinforcement of four thousand men from Ireland. I observed to him that the Pennsylvania and Maryland lines were on route to join him; that the reinforcement from Ireland, which the enemy was wont to boast over, might very probably not be sent, in consequence of the late events; that besides, it

was not known to what part this reinforcement would be directed; that the French army, placed as an intermediary between the North and South American armies, could not well be put in movement until the projects of the enemy had been ascertained. But so as to quell, however, the alarm of the Carolinas, and comply with the pressing solicitations of these two States, I extended the legion of De Lauzun, in command of M. de Choisy, as far as the Roanoke, on the frontiers of North Carolina, and I ordered Adjutant-General Dumas to prepare for the march of the French army into this State, in case circumstances should render it expedient, by making the necessary reconnoitring. He succeeded, by his remarkably conciliating disposition, in tranquillizing the different bodies of legislature, and, on the whole, acquitted himself of this commission with great tact and intelligence.

Indispensable private affairs obliged Baron de Viomenil to proceed to France, in a frigate, in command of M. de Latouche. The *Diligente*, commanded by M. de Clouard, sailed at the same time for Boston, to rally some other ships, and take in some ammunition which had been left there. The latter vessel was run ashore, through the awkwardness of her pilot. I mention the circumstance, as it affords me an opportunity of rendering justice to the remarkable courage evinced by her captain on this unfortunate occasion; he remained three days up to his middle in water, and could not be induced to withdraw until he had saved everything on board his frigate; he was shortly afterwards attacked with a violent fever, which had been nearly his death. This brave officer had always been unfortunate; for this was the third time he had been wrecked, and he has since perished with La Peyrouse, in his voyage round the world.

General Nelson had, at this period, a striking proof of the rigidity of republican principles as regards the respect prescribed by law to property. As Governor of Virginia, he had shown uncommon zeal and courage at the head of the militia of this State throughout the campaign; but he had encamped the allied army in the midst of the crops, and had seen the artillery discharge their missiles on the houses at York, of which the finest, situated at the back of the enemy's works, belonged to himself and to his family, and were raised to the ground, without demanding any kind of indemnification. He had pressed with authority, for the wants of the army, and for the more expeditious conveyance of provisions and heavy artillery, certain carriages and horses belonging to the people of the country, beginning with those of his own vassals, and with his own best equipages. After the siege, he was given to understand that he would be called to account by the Assembly General; he immediately threw up the governorship, went in person to give an account of his conduct to the Legislative Assembly, and defied any of his fellow citizens to show that they had contributed more largely to

the success of this important and memorable campaign. He was honourably acquitted of the charges brought against him, but he did not wish to resume the governorship, which the Assembly General did not regret, and M. Harrison, one of their orators, was appointed to succeed him. I felt in gratitude bound to go and pay him the first visit I made in this country; and General Washington, in his dispatches to Congress, made the most honourable mention of this ex-Governor.

Two frigates arrived with dispatches and specie in the course of this year, and at short intervals from each other. This fresh supply of money reduced the Exchange to about par. The dispatches informed me of the arrival in Europe of M. de Lauzun and the Count Guillaume de Deux-Ponts, and contained congratulatory messages to the General and to the army from his Majesty. The letter, containing the latter, directed me to have a public thanksgiving sung at the head of the army, and to order rejoicings on the occasion, as had been done at Paris and throughout France.

The year 1782 was ushered in with these manifestations of the public sympathy; we also ordered rejoicings to be celebrated for the taking of St. Eustache and St. Christopher by M. de Bouillé, and that of the Island of Minorca by M. de Crillon. But fortune ceased ere long to lavish her fickle favours on poor de Grasse. We first received the news of the dispersion of a convoy which had sailed from Brest, in command of M. de Guichen, and of which a part only, intended for M. de Grasse, reached the Antilles, under escort of M. de Vaudreuil. Admiral Rodney returned from England with a powerful fleet, which, added to that of Admiral Hood, gave the English the advantage on the sea. The Count de Grasse thought that he could venture out in all safety with his fleet, to escort a convoy of troops in command of M. de Bouillé, and convey them to San Domingo, where they were to join the Spanish naval and land forces, commanded by General Don Galvès. M. de Grasse fought a glorious action on the 9th of April, but was less fortunate in the one which he fought on the 12th. This painful intelligence reached America in the course of May, and was contained in an account of the affair drawn up by Admiral Rodney, which the enemy lost no time in making public. This news was the more important as the Congress and the Assemblies of several States were convoked at the time to deliberate on the proposition made by General Carleton, who had succeeded Sir Henry Clinton in the command of the British army. This General offered, in the name of his government, to acknowledge, without any restriction, the independence of the United States, provided that the latter should renounce the alliance which had been contracted with France. Congress refused to receive Carleton's Secretary, the bearer of this proposition, and the State of Maryland was the first to pass a resolution, by which it declared an enemy to the State whomsoever should propose to treat

without the concurrence of France; this declaration being accompanied with sentiments expressive of the gratitude felt towards that country. The example was promptly followed by the Assembly General of the State of Virginia, and soon also by all the other States at the period of the ordinary meeting of their respective legislative bodies. The English General, having sent off at the same time from Charlestown a detachment to proceed to General Green at Jamaica, with a proposition of truce, this was also declined both by the General and Legislative Assembly of South Carolina. The Chevalier de la Luzerne sent intelligence of all this to France, by the Chevalier de Clouard. It confirmed the good opinion that the French had of the firmness, constancy, and gratitude of the Americans towards France, her ally.

The Chevalier de la Luzerne had succeeded M. Gérard as Minister Plenipotentiary of France to America. His open and unassuming manners, together with a highly honourable representation, had gained the esteem and confidence of the Americans to such a high degree, that, without having the appearance of wishing to initiate himself in their private discussions, hardly a single affair of importance was concluded without his opinion being sought, so great was their attachment to and respect for his personal character.

I will here reduce to the simple truth of history the episode of Captain Asgil, which has been so grossly exaggerated by all the public prints, and which has already been made the subject of several dramas. The following is the simplest version of the affair.

Captain Lippencut, an American refugee in the service of England, proceeded from New York with a detachment and arrested, in his own residence, a captain of American militia, whom he had tried without any ceremony, condemned, and hanged to a tree on the continent, with an ignominious inscription attached beneath him; as soon as the news of this barbarous transaction reached the ears of General Washington, he could no longer resist the pressing instigations of his army, and he, accordingly, sent to the quarters of the prisoners in order to draw from them one of the English captains. Chance fell upon Captain Asgil, one of the prisoners of Lord Cornwallis's army. The British general officer in command of the prisoners wrote to me to demand my guarantee, as one of the contracting parties of the capitulation of York, urging that article 14 of the said capitulation protected Cornwallis's army against any sort of reprisals. The murder of Lippencut was subsequent to the said capitulation. It was from that date that the American army argued for reprisals. I wrote immediately in the strongest terms to the Chevalier de la Luzerne in behalf of Asgil, begging him to join his solicitations to mine, when he should show my letter to General Washington. He replied, as soon as he received my letter, that I need not make myself uneasy about Asgil; that the step he had taken had been at the pressing instigation of his army; but that

he gave me his word that Asgil should not be put to death, and to make the latter perfectly easy, he should merely confine him to the precincts of the county of Chatham, which extends to five or six leagues from the gate of New York. The letter of the French Minister, containing a recommendation of the King in favour of this young captain and his interesting family, at length arrived; General Washington and Congress, in due deference to such influential protection, ordered him to be immediately set at liberty.

As soon as the French government had regulated the operations of the campaign, two frigates were fitted out to convey dispatches to that effect to America. One of the latter, with M. de Ségur, son of the minister, and specie on board, was delayed by various accidents, and, having been finally driven into Rochefort, was obliged to wait and sail in company with the second at a later period. This unexpected event left the French corps, during several months, with a scarcity of money. At this period, the wet season, so fatal in Virginia, had caused much sickness among our soldiers; Chevalier de La Luzerne received also, at this epoch, news from M. de Vaudreuil, who, after M. de Grasse had been taken prisoner, had taken the command of the fleet. The admiral requested him to provide victualling for him in the port of Boston. We were also apprized of the fitting-out, at New York, of an expedition, according to every appearance intended against some of the French colonies. I was induced by all these circumstances to put the French army in movement, in order to bring it nearer New York, and further, to propose to General Washington a conference at Philadelphia. It was settled in this conference that the two armies should be united on the banks of the River Hudson, and from thence approach as near as possible to New York, so as to threaten that place, and prevent any detachments being sent therefrom against our colonies. In the meantime, the army in command of the Chevalier de Chatelus and the Chevalier de Viomenil, marched by night and rested by day. Through the paternal care of these two generals to the wants of their troops, the excellent discipline and regimen of the latter, the army was brought safe and well to Baltimore, where it was joined by a detachment in command of M. de La Vallette, whom I had left there to evacuate the artillery from York and Gloucester, and then raze the fortifications of those places. Although the army, whilst it marched slowly along the shore, was convoyed by the small squadron in command of M. de La Villebrune, and conducted by the latter to the further extremity of the bay, every man, from the commander down to the rank and file, without exception, reached their destination sick.

During the stay the army was obliged to make at Baltimore, to recover the sick and let the warm weather pass away, we were informed of the evacuation by the enemy of Savannah, in Georgia; that part of the garrison of the latter place had proceeded to New

York, and the remainder to Charlestown, where preparations were also being made to suppress the magazines. I received at this period a letter from M. de Vaudreuil, who was conveying the remnants of M. de Grasse's army to Boston, wherein he requested the necessary assistance for his victualling; he foresaw that he should soon be followed up by the English fleet, which he had left ready for sea at Jamaica. However, although he had detached M. de La Peyrouse to Hudson's Bay, and the latter had destroyed all the British settlements there, M. de Grasse considered himself able to undertake to subdue Penobscot before the arrival of the enemy's fleet. I immediately sent M. de Choisy to take the command of his land forces, together with the artillery and engineers, of which he had begged the assistance, and I observed, at the same time, that, from the very precise knowledge I had acquired of the strength of Penobscot, I had no idea of the possibility of his carrying that place by main force; that at the same time, I considered it of too little importance to risk an unequal combat with the English fleet in this gulf, where there was no port of refuge to be found. General Washington added to these suggestions, that allowing even that, contrary to our previsions, he should succeed in gaining possession of it, he would be unable to maintain it, owing to the impracticability of its communications with the Americans by land.

General Carleton made a second attempt to obtain a truce; he announced that the recognition, absolute and without restriction, of the independence of America had passed both Houses of Parliament, and that the preliminaries of peace would ere long be signed. Notwithstanding this, we received intelligence of the arrival of Admiral Pigot at New York, to succeed Admiral Rodney in the command of the naval forces, and of the preparations making at that place for an expedition against our colonies. The latter intelligence caused us to hasten the march of the French corps to join the army of Washington, so as to present ourselves thus united in front of New York. The march was effected with the same order and by the same route as that of the preceding campaign. The French corps proceeded through Philadelphia, crossed the Delaware at Trenton, and passed along the foot of a chain of mountains, on the other side of which de Lauzun's legion, in command of Robert Dillon marched on the flank, and on the same level as the army, so as to observe all the enemy's movements in the States Island and in that of New York. We joined Washington's army at Kingsferry, on the Hudson.

The general, as a mark of respect to France, and of gratitude for the services she had rendered America, made us march between a double row of his troops, and, for the first time since the Revolution, equipped and armed and clad with arms and clothes, brought partly from France, and partly taken from the British storehouses taken from Cornwallis, and which the French generously gave up

to the American army. General Washington made his drums beat the French march during the whole time of the review, and the two armies met again with evident marks of reciprocal satisfaction.

The American army remained in camp at Kingsferry, with a vedette guard posted at the mouth of the Croton, in the River Hudson; the French corps took up a military position on the hills in advance of Crampont, with the de Lauzun corps stationed as a vanguard on the heights which border the Croton. In such a position the two armies were within a march of New York and the States Islands. Patrols were stationed on the whole line of coast of Connecticut, as far as the River Hudson, which divides the State of New York from that of Jersey.

M. de Ségur arrived about this time with dispatches from the minister, his father, after having escaped, on board the frigate *La Gloire*, all the misfortunes which befel M. de La Touche, the commandant of the *Aigle*. The two latter vessels, which had sailed in company with each other, fell in, when off Newfoundland, with a seventy-four, to which they gave action vigorously; they had money on board for the army, together with M. de Lauzun, de Viomenil, de Ségur, and the Prince de Broglie, the eldest son of the Marshal, whom the latter had granted permission to take an appointment under my command, and several aides-de-camp, who were coming out to join the army. M. de La Touche having made for the Delaware River, was given chase to by a ship of the line and several cruizers; the pilots directed them through a channel, in which *La Gloire* succeeded in passing, but in which the *Aigle*, which drew more water, ran aground, and could not get off again. M. de La Touche set to landing his dispatches, his specie, and his passengers, all of which arrived safe at Philadelphia, but he was obliged to surrender his frigate to the English captain, who had on board Prince William Henry, son of the King of England.

The orders from government enjoined to General Rochambeau, in the event of the enemy evacuating New York and Charlestown, or either of those places, to embark the army immediately on board the French fleet, to be conveyed forthwith to San Domingo, in command of a general officer, and be afterwards placed under the orders of M. de Galvès, a Spanish lieutenant-general, appointed to the command of the land forces of both nations, intended for a combined expedition against Spain. All the dispatches received announced the evacuation of Charlestown; and, by their march from the extremity of Virginia State to the River Hudson, the army was now within a reasonable distance to execute the orders of the council without delay. I communicated my instructions to M. de Vaudreuil, and stated to him that I should be ready to proceed with the army to Boston, as soon as he would be ready to embark it. M. de Vaudreuil informed me, in reply, that it would be impossible for his fleet to have completed its victualling before the close of



November, and that he had not accommodation for more than four thousand men, the officers, and their suite included. I proposed to the Baron de Viomenil and his brother to take the command of the two brigades of infantry and of part of the artillery, and to proceed with these troops to their destination. I left de Lauzun's corps, with the detachment of heavy artillery which had remained at Baltimore, at the further extremity of Chesapeake Bay, and I charged the Duke de Lauzun with the command of that part of the French corps which remained in America, under orders of General Washington.

On the departure from Crampont of the French corps, to proceed to Boston to embark, a captain of American militia, at whose house I had been quartered, conducted himself towards us in a manner which strikingly characterizes the republican liberty. The day before our departure, he called on me to demand payment of fifteen thousand francs, for the wood that the brigade of Soissonois had burned for fuel in their camp. I thought his demand rather exorbitant, and referred him to Villemanzky, the commissary appointed to settle, in concert with the arbiters of the country, all claims for provisions consumed by the army in its respective encampments. On the moment of departure, just as the drums had beaten to arms, and the troops were drawn up in marching order, a man respectfully walked up to me, and addressing me, stated that he was aware of the imminent services I had rendered to his country, that he respected me greatly, but that, at the same time, he was obliged to do his duty. He then presented a paper to me, and tapping me slightly on the shoulder, told me that he constituted me his prisoner. "Very well, sir," I replied, jocosely; "but take me if you can." "No, please your excellency," replied the sheriff's officer; "but I beg you will allow me, after the performance of my duty, to withdraw unmolested." As I continued on the march, I sent the Commissary Villemanzky to the house of the American, whom he found surrounded by his fellow-citizens, who were all upbraiding him loudly for such conduct towards a French officer. The commissary made way through them, and made the captain put his signature to a paper, by which he consented to compromise the matter, by referring it to the decision of an arbitration. The latter reduced the demand to two thousand francs, and cast the plaintiff in the whole of the costs.

The French corps passed through the whole of Connecticut. Governor Trumbold and his council issued a proclamation, urging his fellow-citizens not to raise a single cent the price of provisions during the passage of the French troops. The inhabitants obeyed this injunction so generously, that each mess were able to add, every evening, to the common allowance every kind of provision at a very low price. On the arrival of the army at Providence, we found that further accidents which had happened to the squadron

of M. de Vaudreuil would not allow us to embark just then, and we were finally obliged to put up in barrack camps during the remainder of November.

I have never mentioned the multitude of addresses of the towns and assemblies-general of the different States of America presented to the general, and all of which were expressive of their feelings of sincere gratitude towards France. Some offered the good wishes of the inhabitants for the success of his future operations; others for those of the army. I will only speak of one of these addresses, on account of its eccentricity. A deputation of the Ancient Society of Friends of Philadelphia accosted me, clad in their simple costume. "General," exclaimed the eldest of the party, "it is not on account of thy military qualities that we have come to present thee our homage. We care nought for thy achievements; but thou art the friend of mankind, and thy army liveth in perfect order and discipline. Wherefore, have we come to pay our respects to thee." The army embarked at length at Boston early in December, carrying with it the universal blessings of our allies of the thirteen States, without exception. As a proof of the inconceivable discipline of our troops, it will be sufficient to say that, in the course of the three campaigns, there was not a single duel or quarrel recorded between our soldiers and the Americans.

I was obliged to go back, with the Chevalier de Chatelus, M. de Belleville, M. de Choisy, the whole of our staff, and our aides-de-camp, to meet the frigate in which we had intended to take our passage to France. She laid in Chesapeak Bay, because I would not deprive M. de Vaudreuil of any of his, in which he was obliged to stow away as many of his troops as he could find room for on board.

On our return to Virginia, we paid another visit to General Washington, at New Windsor. It was here that we took our most tender farewell, and that I, as well as the officers who were with me, received from the American army the assurance of their most sincere friendship for ever.

The *Danaé*, a frigate in command of M. de Capellis, ran aground, through the awkwardness of her pilot, exactly on the same spot as the *Aigle*; but he succeeded in getting her off again, after her dispatches and the money she had on board were landed, and her masts cut away, and he ultimately took her into Philadelphia. The dispatches expressed the satisfaction his Majesty felt at the readiness and exertions of the French general to execute to the point the orders which had been transmitted to him. As he passed through Philadelphia, he received from the President of Congress the following address and resolutions:—

"By the United States assembled in Congress, 1st January, 1783.

"The Minister Plenipotentiary of H. M. C. M. having communicated to Congress through the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, on

the 7th December last, the resolution passed to embark the army in command of General Rochambeau, the actual embarkation of the latter on the 29th, and its final departure, and further, the intention of His Majesty to order the return of troops to America, whenever circumstances should occur to render efficient their co-operation with the American army, resolved that the Secretary of Foreign Affairs shall inform the minister of France that although the Congress cannot but sincerely regret the withdrawal of troops, to whose bravery it is so much indebted for subduing the enemy's army in the United States, it has too high a confidence in the attention of His Majesty to the interests of the alliance, not to feel persuaded that the order for the withdrawal of the French army was dictated by a conviction that the said army might be employed more efficaciously elsewhere against the common enemy; that Congress beg the Minister Plenipotentiary will make known to His Majesty their sentiments of gratitude for His Majesty's kind attention to their immediate interests, manifested by the important assistance which His Majesty afforded them for so long a time, and by His Majesty's generous determination to order the return of the army to the United States, whenever circumstances should allow of an advantageous co-operation with the army of that country; that Congress, through the Minister of Foreign Affairs, is desirous of recommending most pressingly to the special favour of His Majesty, Count Rochambeau, and the army, under the latter's command; being highly satisfied with its bravery, its good conduct, and admirable discipline; to which latter Congress is most particularly indebted for the perfect harmony that has existed between the French troops and the soldiers and citizens of the United States.

"Resolved further, that the President of Congress shall return the particular thanks of Congress to his Excellency the Count de Rochambeau, and make known to him the high esteem of Congress for the distinguished talent which he has displayed to the advantage of the States in the various important conjunctures, as well as for the exact and exemplary discipline so remarkably uniform in the troops under his orders, and which have merited the admiration and esteem of the citizens of these States, who will for ever preserve an affectionate remembrance of the imminent services he has rendered, and of the extremely delicate regard he has continually shown for their private interests.

(Signed) "CHARLES THOMPSON, Secretary."

My march back by land to embark on board the frigate the *Émeraude* could not be kept secret from the enemy. The English admiral consequently sent out a ship of the line and two frigates to cruize off Cape Chesapeake, and endeavour to take me prisoner. I was informed of the manœuvre; but I had hoped to get away at dusk, and under a strong breeze, so that the enemy's cruisers would

run clear of me. The *Émeraude* cleared the Capes on the 14th of January, under a fresh north-west breeze. She had hardly got off the land when we caught sight of a cruizer south of the Capes. We altered our course at the beginning of the night, and brought round to the north of the Capes. At the same moment the wind shifted round to the north east. In an hour afterwards the enemy's cruizer came up before the wind by the larboard quarter, hemming up our frigate between her and the coast. She immediately put about to give us the benefit of her broadside; the *Émeraude*, having ascertained her antagonist to be a ship of the line, had no other alternative than to crowd sail and make off, rounding the coast so as not to run ashore. The enemy followed our course, and, favoured by a bright moonlight, gave us a thirty hours' chase, during which he twice came up within shot of us. The second time, the wind having abated, our captain took the only alternative left; he lightened his ship of his spare masts and yards, and of a few carronades aft, which gave us a great advantage over our unmerciful pursuer, and we soon outsailed her, having got about eighty leagues to southward.

On the evening of the 16th we encountered a most boisterous hurricane, during which we more than once had cause to regret the spare mast and yards we had cast away; however, our masts weathered the storm until we got off Cape Finisterre, when the lightning struck our gallant-topmast, and shattered it to atoms. This boisterous weather continued till we got into the river of Nantes, where we anchored without accident, although we had gone through the narrows without a pilot, which we could not procure. On our arrival we were informed of the conclusion of the peace.

General Rochambeau set off immediately to Versailles, where he was received with distinction by the King; his Majesty told him, that it was to his exertions and to the taking of Cornwallis's army that we owed the peace. General Rochambeau begged to be allowed to divide this eulogium with a man whose misfortunes, which had since befallen him, he had been apprized of through the public prints, but whom, he assured His Majesty, he never could forget, and entreated His Majesty to bear in mind that M. de Grasse, at his simple request, had come to M. de Rochambeau's assistance, with all the means he could muster, and that, without his concurrence, we should never have succeeded in taking Cornwallis's army. The King immediately replied, that M. de Grasse's dispatches were yet fresh in his memory, and that he would never forget the service the latter had rendered in concert with M. de Rochambeau; that what had happened since remained yet to be judged of. The next day he gave M. de Rochambeau the entry to his bedchamber, bestowed on him the blue instead of the red ribbon, which M. de Rochambeau remitted, and appointed him to the command of Picardy, vacant a year after by the death of the Maréchal de Croix; but what flattered him the most was that he obtained all the favours

he solicited for the general officers and subalterns, and for the soldiers, who received three months' pay as in America, as a donation. Baron de Viomenil was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general; Messrs. La Fayette, de Choisy, de Bévillé, the Count de Custine, the Duke de Lauzun, Messrs. de Rostaing and d'Autichamp, to that of *maréchal-de-camp*; and Messrs. d'Aboville, Desaudrouin, de La Vallette, L'Estrade, du Portail, du Muy, and the Marquis de Deux-Ponts, to that of brigadier. All lieutenant-colonels were presented with full colonelcies; the Vicomte de Rochambeau was made Chevalier of St. Louis and *mestre-de-camp*, and appointed to the command of the regiment of Saintonge, and, subsequently, to that of the regiment of Royal-Auvergne.

General de Rochambeau had the misfortune to lose his mother three months previous to his return to France. She lived and died a woman of great merit. She had retired to apartments at the Palais Royal, and the Duke de Penthièvre had begged I would let him replace me at her bedside during her last illness, and he never ceased to bestow care and attention to her comforts and relief till she breathed her last. I must here pay this tribute to the virtues of so benevolent and amiable a prince.

The glorious peace, of such import to America, was proclaimed shortly afterwards. General Washington, at the head of an army to which nearly seven years' arrears of pay was due, found it no easy task to satisfy its demands with paper money, when its disbanding was talked of. An insurrection broke out amongst the troops, who persisted in maintaining themselves as a corps, and in *statu quo*, until the amount of pay should be acquitted in full by the different States in their respective shares. General Washington, with that noble and patriotic character which ever formed the basis of his conduct, used his influential power over the minds of his soldiers to bring them round to those feelings of generosity with which they had been animated in the whole course of the Revolution. It was at his instigation that the Cincinnatus association was proposed, to commemorate the alliance of France, as an indissoluble bond of their mutual fraternity, and an honourable mark of their services. Having at last accomplished the disbanding of his army, he took leave of his military career by a letter which depicts with admirable precision the character of this great man, and which will certainly be handed down to posterity in the history of every country.

The news of the peace was not brought to Asia till some time after its proclamation; it did not prevent the bailli de Suffren from commencing a most brilliant naval campaign. Having taken possession of the island of Ceylon, then belonging to the Dutch, he sallied forth from the port of Trinkomali on every propitious occasion to attack the English fleets. These combats were always favorable to the French navy; but the operations of the land forces, commanded

by M. de Bussy, were as unfortunate as successful, and the campaign which they undertook proved very unsatisfactory.

In concluding my observations in regard to America, I will venture an essay on the manners, political and religious opinions of its people, as well as on the different climates of that immense continent of North America, known under the denomination of United States. In drawing a line in the first place between the merchants and the agriculturists, between the inhabitants of the large sea towns and those of the smaller towns or in-land settlements, we must not wonder that the merchants and those residents of the sea-ports, whose affairs or interests were nearly connected with the British government, should profess even sentiments less zealous for the revolution than the agriculturists. Boston, however, declared itself at the very beginning of the war in favour of liberty and independence. The zealous efforts of its inhabitants were immediately seconded almost unanimously by the States of the north. The violent doings of the English and of the Hessians, their allies, carried this revolution rapidly on from the north to the south. The opinion of the inhabitants of the north, consisting principally of land holders of equal fortune, were naturally of a democratical tendency, whilst those of the inhabitants of the south, consisting of many rich proprietors, intermingled with whites in less easy circumstances, and of a great quantity of negroes, were, on the contrary, quite aristocratical. All quickly united, however, to stand up for the liberty, equality, and independence of the mother country, taking care to preserve a certain respect for property in general. Every kind of religion was equally tolerated, the most numerous sects being those of the Church of England, the Presbyterians and the Quakers; the former, on account of the supremacy of the head of their church, whom they recognise in the person of the sovereign of Great Britain, were most dangerous. The first act of Congress was to exclude from political as well as civil assemblies all ecclesiasties without exception. The ministers were forced in many Communes to abandon their churches, and it was not until peace that several of them, having got themselves consecrated by the Lutheran bishop of Denmark and Sweden, were reinstated in their livings; by these precautions, religion was prevented from taking a part in political deliberation; every one professed his own religion with exactitude; the sanctity of the Lord's day was scrupulously observed. At all public feasts the minister of religion held the first place; he blessed the repast; but his prerogatives in society extended no further. Such preamble must naturally lead to pure and simple manners. Hospitality is the virtue the most generally observed. Young women are free till their marriage. The first question addressed to a young woman is whether she be married; if she be, there the conversation rests. It is not uncommon that, at the age of womanhood, they accompany their father and mother to church,

although they have not yet made choice of any particular religion; if you ask them why, they say that they will follow the same religion as their husband. But when they have once entered the state of matrimony, they give themselves up entirely to it, and you seldom see, particularly in the rural districts, a woman of loose manners. Children are, generally speaking, kept extremely clean. A settler is, at home, neither a lord of a manor nor a farmer; he is a proprietor in a full sense of the word, possessing the *quantum sufficit* of his necessaries, and he lays out the overplus of his crops in the purchases of good and comfortable clothing, without any of the exterior appendages of luxury.

The same simplicity is observed with regard to his furniture, and unblemished cleanliness is its principal merit; but it is not without difficulty that the American settler arrives at this state.

I will now explain in what manner these settlements were formed in the origin, and how they still continue to be formed. Whereas there is much more land to be cleared than there are hands to cultivate it, labourers are in great demand; a cultivator or day labourer earned, in my time, a piaster of five livres ten sous per diem. It is not uncommon that a labourer, who works assiduously for the space of six years on an average, can accumulate a sufficient sum to purchase a piece of ground. They commence by firing the forests, which operation they call *clearing*. They next sow in the furrows every kind of seed, which grows with great abundance on a layer of rotten leaves, reduced to a vegetable soil formed at the expiration of many years. They then build their habitation with the round branches of the trees, piled one upon another, and propped up by stakes. They enclose their fields with barriers, according to their different destinations. They take care to reserve pens, covered over with leaves, to protect their cattle from the rain and heavy dew, wherein the animals are enabled to pass the night at large. At the expiration of twenty or thirty years, when they have succeeded in fully clearing the ground, they proceed to build more tidy and comfortable houses with planks cleverly joined, and wrought with great art. But little iron is used in these constructions, the doors and windows being made to fit with remarkable precision by their skilful carpenters. At length, twenty or thirty years later, the family's circumstances become more easy, and they then remove to a brick house, the complement of their architecture. The latter is composed of a kind of open hall or veranda, a neat drawing room, which is not scantily supplied with fuel during the colder months, and a kitchen next to it. The family sit all the day in their drawing-room; they take four meals per day, interrupted only by moderate labour, and a little negro is incessantly occupied in spreading and clearing away the cloth. The bedrooms, with very clean and comfortable bedding, are situated on the first story, and their walls are white-washed regularly every year. In

the large towns, luxury has made more progress: rich merchants and bankers have provided their residence with costly English furniture; their ladies are clad to the tip of the French fashions, of which they are remarkably fond.

The temperature of their northern States is much about the same as that of the southern provinces of France, and the heat of their southern States is equal to that of the coast of barbary. From this results that the life is longer in the north, shorter in the middle States, and that at sixty a man is actually quite decrepid in the southern States. I speak here of the plains within thirty leagues of the sea; the air of the different chains of mountains, parallel to these plains, is infinitely more pure and rarefied. In my time, the population did not amount to three millions of souls; it now annually increases, and that space of country comprised under the name of United States, together with the provinces ceded by the English, in virtue of the peace of 1783, may one day contain thirty millions without inconvenience.

The ports of Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, Boston, Rhode Island, Chesapeak Bay, are those mostly frequented by the naval forces. The ports of New York and Charlestown are covered by a bar and forts, and will admit only ships which can be lightened of their burthen under their protection. This coast has several commercial ports very favourable to marine traffic.

Their political establishments are not yet freed from the effects of their ancient manners and customs. They established a federal government in each State, composed of a chamber of representatives, a senate, at the head of which was a Governor or President. Those three suffrages united formed the law; the veto of one of the three annulled it; but the most pitiable resolution was that which established the unanimity of votes of the different States to form in Congress a fixed resolution. They soon, however, discovered the ill effects of this system; they felt that each State, by voting apart, was hurtful to the general good of the nation, and to which every good government must strive to contribute; that no one State, isolated from the rest, could have any weight in the political world for the protection of its commerce, and that that protection could only be acquired by union. They at length, therefore, decided to pass a law which should prescribe that, the opinion of two thirds of the Deputies of the different States should suffice to carry and enforce any resolution. From this period, American Congress was held in esteem by the other Powers, and they were not long before they perceived how its existence had been strengthened, as their alliance was sought at that period by all the most important Powers of Europe.

The treaty of peace of 1783 was as glorious to France as it was restrained in its advantages. Its most important stipulations were all in favour of her allies. The recognition of independence of



America had weakened much of the real power of England, and had prodigiously increased the amount of that nation's debt. In that state of the general politics of Europe, France enjoyed a marked prevalency over the other nations, and played the principal part in affairs. Having concluded, by her powerful mediation, the private treaty of peace between Holland and England, she made a treaty of defensive alliance with the former nation. This happy state of things continued until the presuming intervention of the Emperor Joseph against Holland, relative to the free navigation of the Scheld. France prepared to sustain her mediation by arms, and succeeded ultimately, by generous sacrifices, in consolidating peace between these two nations, with which it was important, for her security and tranquillity, after a most expensive war, that she should preserve alliance.

THE END.